1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

INFANCY

853 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collío in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- ●431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Housse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L·aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ñillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
602 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
583 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
571 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
• 431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

12: Faron 3-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

While the marriage fast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutn* (derived from *mafun*: brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or cassificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthunun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recogniton of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 793 756 182 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun* mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 756 465 431 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance, but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 756 465 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich payment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 782 [787]

difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

[756] [772] 754 602 571 788 626 182

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

[431] • [782]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- A 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the
locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to
set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted,
and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking
instead a hide to make a small lazo. A T

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and
stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the
cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the
others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of
Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were
gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs
bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into
two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions
charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I
came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the
sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then
asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been
dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro
had not been dead and come back again, and various other
questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, A 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed
with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he
made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term
it, 'leelu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to
the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for
the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It
was perfectly new, having been just completed by his
daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great 000

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873.
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians Sg4

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

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After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

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After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'leshu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Chocoque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Chocoque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Puiaguees, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Chocoque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

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164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the continued illness of Graviel and the others. Towards evening
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755 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then
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We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Matia, who was an intelligent youth, argue that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked
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431 an armed man.

We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geyken, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 "It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geyken with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintabual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if